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DR. SUN YAT-SEN

—HIS LIFE—

AND

ACHIEVEMENTS



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THE PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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Shanghai Mercury





## CONTENTS

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|                                                       |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Dr. Sun's Will ... ..                                 | 1  |
| Chronicle of Dr. Sun's Life ... ..                    | 3  |
| Dr. Sun Yat-sen ... ..                                | 7  |
| His Revolutionary Activities ... ..                   | 9  |
| China Proclaimed a Republic ... ..                    | 12 |
| San Min Chu I. ... ..                                 | 14 |
| Nationalism for the People ... ..                     | 15 |
| Democracy for the People ... ..                       | 17 |
| Political Power of the People ... ..                  | 18 |
| Administrative Power of the Government ... ..         | 18 |
| Livelihood for the People ... ..                      | 19 |
| Principle of Livelihood ... ..                        | 21 |
| The Fivefold Constitution * ... ..                    | 22 |
| Programme of National Reconstruction ... ..           | 33 |
| Manifesto of First National Congress ... ..           | 38 |
| A Plan for the Development of Chinese Industry ... .. | 45 |
| China's International Development ... ..              | 51 |

## FRENCH

|                                                                               |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Le Dr. Sun Yat-sen ... ..                                                     | 57 |
| Ses Activités Révolutionnaires ..... ..                                       | 59 |
| La Chine Proclamée République ... ..                                          | 60 |
| Préface aux Principes Fondamentaux de la Recon-<br>struction Nationale ... .. | 63 |
| Principes Fondamentaux pour la Reconstruction<br>Nationale ... ..             | 67 |











DR. SUN YAT-SEN,  
Father of the Chinese Republic.

## DR. SUN'S WILL.

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For forty years I have devoted myself to the cause of the people's revolution with but one aim in view—the elevation of China to a position of freedom and equality among the nations. My experiences during these forty years have fully convinced me that to attain this goal we must bring about a thorough awakening of our own people and ally ourselves in a common struggle with those peoples of the world who treat us on an equal basis so that they may cooperate with us in our struggles.

The work of the Revolution is not yet over. All my comrades must continue to exert their efforts according to my "Programme of National Reconstruction," "Outline of Reconstruction," the "Three Principles of the People," and the "Manifesto" issued by the First National Congress of our Party, and strive on earnestly for the consummation of the end we have in view. Above all, our recent declarations in favour of the convocation of a People's Convention and the abolition of unequal treaties should be carried into effect with the least possible delay. This is my heartfelt charge to you.

(Signed) SUN WEN.

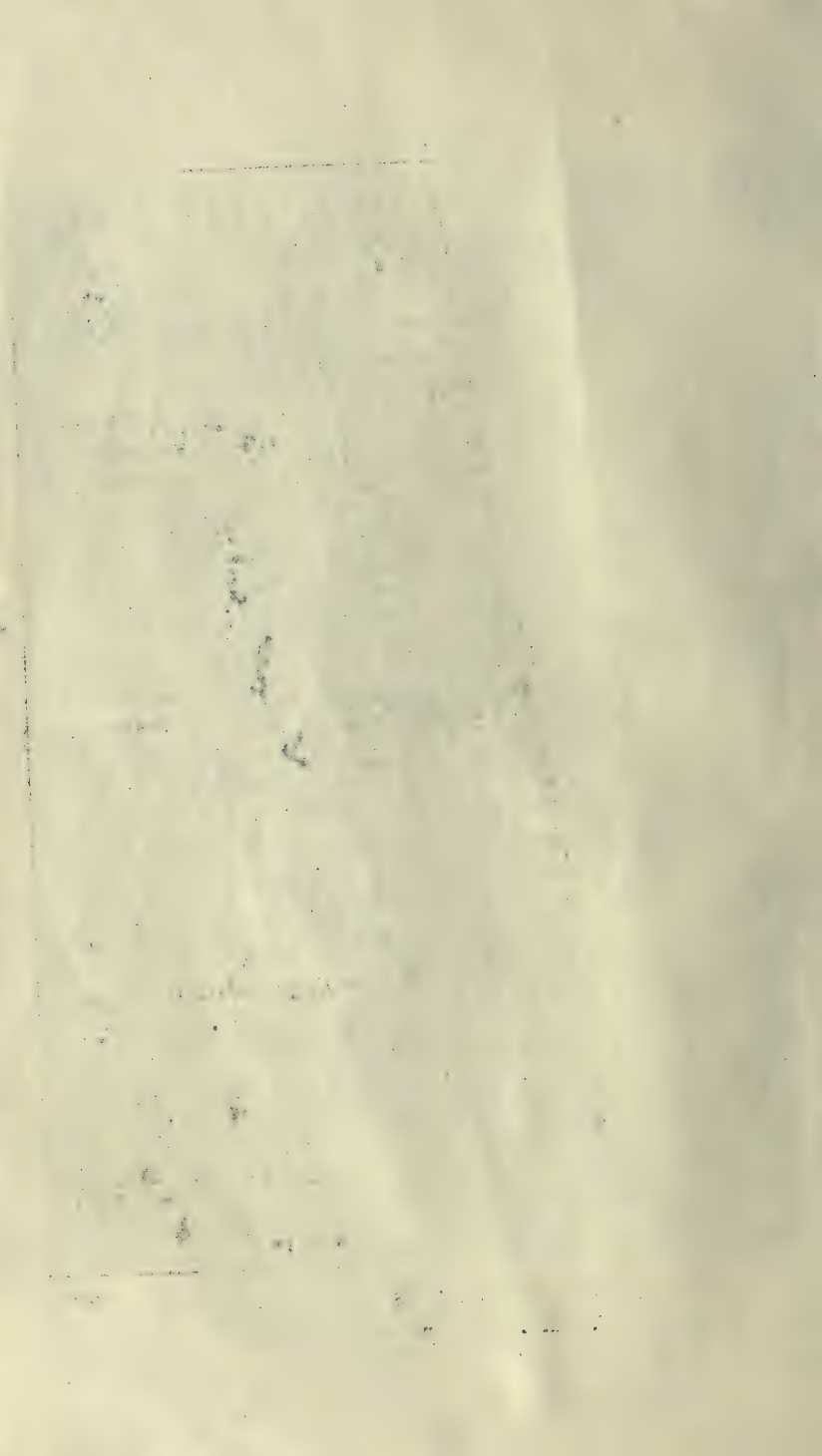
February 20th, 1925.







DR. SUN'S LATEST PICTURE.  
Taken at Tientsin on December 5, 1924.





## DR. SUN YAT SEN.

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To say that Dr. Sun Yat Sen, Father of the Chinese Republic and popularly known as the Washington of China, led a life of hardship is to put it mildly, for he was always exposed to danger during his revolutionary activities, Dr. Sun has been known the world over as the most effective and practical revolutionary leader China has ever produced, and his life was devoted to liberating China from the shackles of superstition and economic backwardness and hastening China's rise to the position of a modern world power.

The great revolutionary leader was born in a small village near Hsiangshan in the Province of Kwangtung on November 12, 1866. At an early age he went to Honolulu where he attended the Honolulu English Bishop School. Upon graduation he attended a high school known as the St. Louis School, and then studied for a term at the St. Louis College. His return to Hongkong and his enrollment at Queen's College marked the beginning of his career as a revolutionist, for early in life he became convinced that China's weakness was due to the inefficiency and corruption of the Manchus and he felt that the only solution was to work for their downfall. Upon his return from Honolulu he evolved a platform so that he may preach revolution to his countrymen, and his slogan at that time was "Divine Right Does Not Last Forever," which is in the nature of a protest against reverence for the throne. Although he felt that his life work lay in the salvation of China, he realized that he must choose a profession in order that he may have a cloak to cover his activities, and he regarded the medical profession as the kindly aunt who could direct him to the political arena, for the Chinese looked upon medical men as being immune from politics and he could carry on his propaganda without arousing too much attention from the authorities.

It was while studying at Po Hsi Medical School that he met Cheng Sze-liang, who was destined to play an important part in his early revolutionary activities, and the two discussed revolutionary topics with considerable zest. After staying for a year in the Canton Medical School, he discovered that Hongkong Medical College had a wider medical programme, and during his stay in Hongkong he also received the enthusiastic support of Chen Shao-bo, Yu Shao-chi and Yang Ho-lin, and another man at Shanghai, Lu Ho-tung. Whenever they came together they did not feel happy unless they discussed revolution, and they were nicknamed "the four great and inseparable scoundrels." Their firm conviction that China can only be saved by revolution inspired them to form the Hing Chung Hwei.

## HIS REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES.

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China's defeat at the hands of Japan during 1894 fully convinced him that a revolution was the only means of saving his country from destruction. Thereupon he organised an attack against the Yamen at Canton in the ninth moon of 1895, but this attack proved unsuccessful. Six hundred pistols were seized on board a ship by the Manchu authorities, and Comrades Lu Ho-tung and Chu Kwei-chen were executed, while 70 persons were imprisoned.

The Manchus ordered the arrest of Dr. Sun and he fled to Hawaii, then to America, and from thence to England. While abroad he began preaching to his countrymen about the necessity for a revolution. The idea of a nationalism had not completely died out among the Chinese, even though they were ruled by their Manchû conquerors for more than two centuries. After China was conquered by the Manchus, the scholars of the Ming Dynasty handed down their ideas of nationalism to a secret order. This secret order existed among the Chinese emigrants abroad, so the revolutionary leader was able to get their moral and financial support in the great task of overthrowing the Manchus.

His narrowest escape from death occurred when he was kidnapped during October 11, 1896 while passing the Chinese Legation at London. Here he was confined until he managed to communicate to his old friend, Sir James Cantlie, who secured his release. His life was constantly exposed to danger, for a sleuth followed him wherever he went and he was compelled to travel in all sorts of disguises.

Returning to Japan in 1899 he leased a house about an arm's throw from the Chinese Consulate at Yokohama at a place known as Number 21 Yamashita Cho. There he carried on his activities until he organised the second revolution shortly after the outbreak of the Boxer Rebellion. His schoolmate, Cheng Sze-liang was actively aiding him



in his revolutionary work at the time. The second revolution was successful at the very beginning, but further advancement was checked by an unexpected source, for the second attempt failed owing to the lack of supplies.

After this unsuccessful attempt he returned to Japan. In 1903 he went to Annam at the invitation of the Governor of Annam. The revolutionary forces advanced toward Chao Chow, under the leadership of General Hwang Hsing but were defeated. Another attempt was made to overwhelm the Imperial Army at Wei Chow but this also ended in failure. Not to be daunted by these reverses, Dr. Sun went to Europe where he carried on revolutionary propaganda among the students. Returning in 1906, Dr. Sun managed to secure the allegiance of Kuo Jen-chow and Chao Pai-shen, two commanders in the Imperial Army. Two comrades were sent to Japan for the purpose of buying ammunition and supplies, but owing to a dispute at the Tokyo Headquarters, the arms failed to arrive on time, and the revolutionary forces were compelled to retreat.

In 1907, Dr. Sun personally led his comrades in an attack upon Jen Nan Kwan and captured three forts, but as reinforcements failed to arrive on time, Dr. Sun was forced to retreat back to Annam. General Hwang Hsing was then ordered to proceed to the Lien and Tien districts and attempt their seizure, but owing to the lack of ammunition. General Hwang's forces were forced to withdraw after a campaign of several months. In the meantime, the Manchu authorities exerted pressure upon the French Government to drive Dr. Sun out of Annam, so he went to Singapore. In the meantime, Huang Ming-tang led a successful campaign in Hokow and captured more than 1,000 soldiers of the Imperial Army. As an able leader was needed at that time, Dr. Sun telegraphed to General Hwang Hsing asking him to proceed immediately to the scene. But unfortunately, General Hwang was detained by the French authorities, so the eighth attempt ended in failure.

In 1909 the great revolutionary leader went to America to enlist the support of his countrymen there. During his sojourn abroad, his comrades at home attempted to storm the city of Canton, but they were routed. Dr. Sun was in the United States at that time, and upon receipt of the news, he hurried back to China and found his followers entirely discouraged by the series of failures; so he called a meeting together at Penang to discuss future revolutionary tactics and instil new courage into their hearts. After the meeting, he again returned to America for the purpose of raising funds. During his absence another attempt was made to capture Kwangtung Province and this incident, which later became known as the Huang Hua Kang Martyrdom, again failed but it gave the Manchu rulers many sleepless nights.

## CHINA PROCLAIMED A REPUBLIC.

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The eleventh attempt was destined to change the course of events in China, for Wuhan was captured without any difficulty on October 10, 1911, and province after province rallied to the support of the revolutionary cause. The Manchus were at last driven from the throne and China was proclaimed a Republic. Hurrying back from America, the "Father of the Chinese Republic" was unanimously elected First President of China.

Dr. Sun resigned in favour of Yuan Shih-kai, but it later proved to be a mistake, for Yuan Shih-kai secretly coveted the throne. Shortly after assuming office, Yuan caused the assassination of Sung Chao-jen, the Kuomintang candidate for Prime Minister. The next step was to outlaw the Kuomintang and dissolve Parliament. When Yuan Shih-kai proclaimed himself Emperor, a fresh uprising took place and he was driven from the throne.

As a result of Yuan Shih-kai's suppression of the Kuomintang, Dr. Sun was driven to take refuge in Japan. With the assistance of Dr. Wu Ting-fang, however, Dr. Sun Yat-sen succeeded in establishing a Government at Canton in opposition to the former Peking Government during the latter part of the year 1917. Dr. Sun was then Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, but in 1921 he was elected President of the Constitutional Government of Canton by an overwhelming majority. After his inauguration, he organised an Expedition against the northern militarists, but while his army was entering Kwangsi his erstwhile trusted subordinate, Chen Chiung-ming, revolted against him during 1922. But in 1923 Dr. Sun drove out these hostile forces and re-established the Canton Government.

During the latter part of 1924 hostilities broke out between the Fengtien and Chihli parties, so Dr. Sun lost

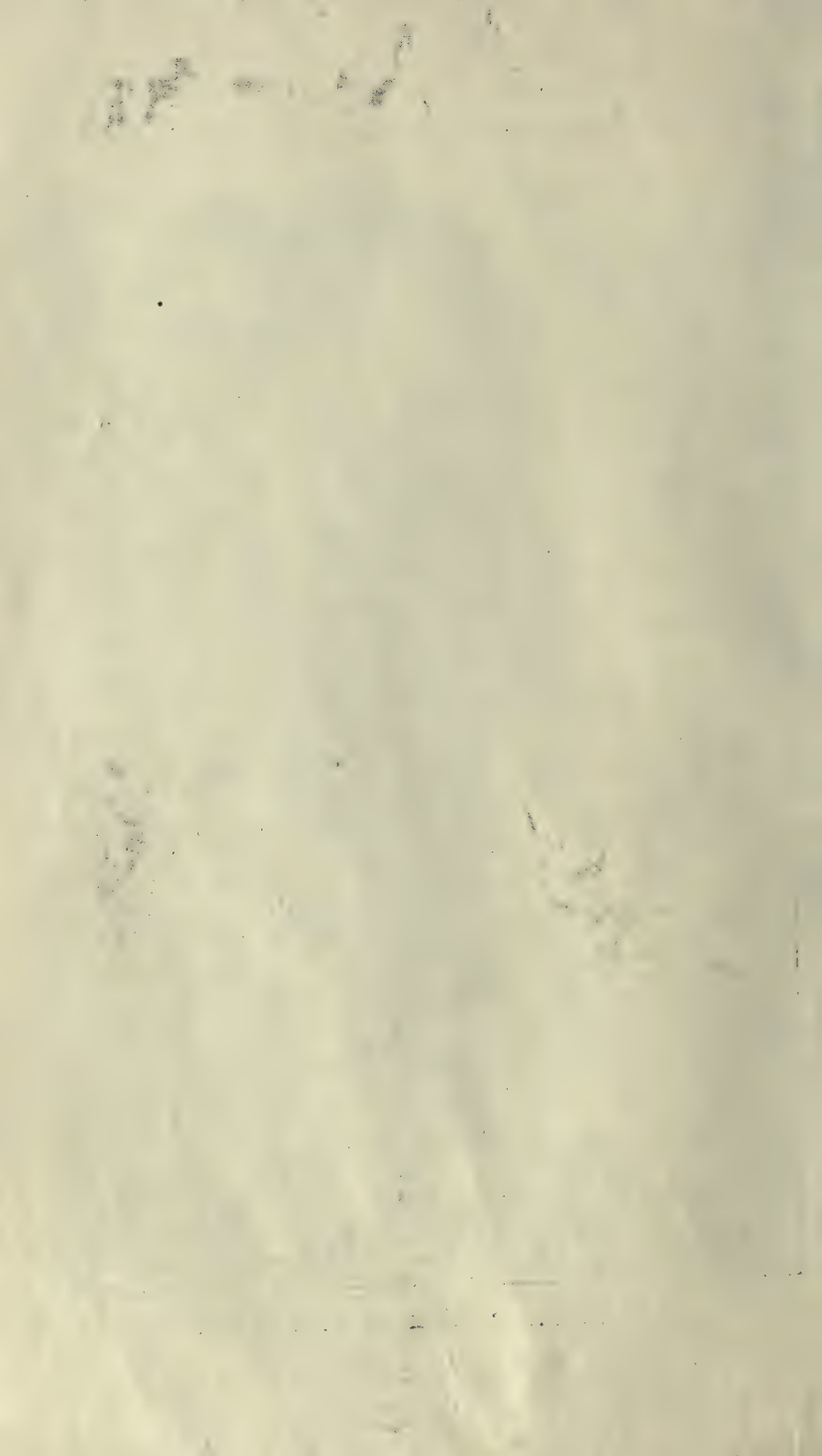


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A PORTRAIT IN MEMORY OF DR. SUN.



no time in mobilising his forces for another Northern Expedition. After Tsao Kun was overthrown, the Kuominchun leader invited Dr. Sun to proceed north to hold a round-table conference. The "Father of the Chinese Republic" reached Tientsin on December 4th, and although he contracted illness, he arrived at the former Northern Capital on New Year's Eve. He was then removed to Peking Union Hospital, where he was operated upon but after attempts to save his life were of no avail, he passed away on March 12, 1925. The parting words at his death-bed were "Peace—Struggle—Save China."

Although he did not live to see the realisation of the aims for which he had struggled during the last forty years of his life, his spirit and enthusiasm are still alive among his followers, who are doing their utmost to carry out his aims and aspirations. To-day many people who were formerly his bitterest opponents are staunch supporters of his cause and are endeavouring to carry out his Three Principles of Nationalism, Democracy and Livelihood for the people. The National Government is conscientiously following the wishes of Dr. Sun by establishing the Five-Yuan system of government with its five powers of the executive, the judiciary, the legislature, the censorate and the civil service examinations. During the period from Political Tutelage to Constitutionism, the masses will be taught the four powers of the people, namely:—suffrage, recall, initiative and referendum.



## THE SAN MIN CHU I.

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The Three Principles of the Kuomintang as enunciated by the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, are Nationalism, Democracy and Livelihood. In other words, the **San Min Chu I**, or the Three Principles, stand for racial democracy, political democracy and economic democracy, which coincide with the principles of Abraham Lincoln of "a government of the people, by the people and for the people."

## NATIONALISM FOR THE PEOPLE.

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The Chinese nation is composed of five racial stocks:—Hans, Manchus, Mongols, Tartars and Tibetans. Compared to the four hundred million Chinese, there are several million Tibetans, less than a million Mongols, about ten million Tartars and the most insignificant number of Manchus. Mongolia, Manchuria and Tibet are in constant danger of foreign invasion, for the people living in those territories do not have sufficient strength for self-protection, but a united Republic composed of Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Tartars and Tibetans constitutes a powerful combination. A certain racial distinction still exists which distorts the real meaning of a Republic, so steps must be taken to cement the unity of the individual peoples inhabiting China. In the words of Dr. Sun, we must “satisfy the demands and requirements of all peoples and unite them in a single cultural and political whole, to constitute a single nation with such a name, for example, as ‘Chunghua’—or China, in the widest application of the name.”

Political and economic forces have a greater influence upon the rise and fall of nations than natural forces, and China is now being caught in the current of modern world movements. The nineteenth century witnessed the climax to the struggle among the Powers for territorial aggrandizement, and China was subject to the iron heel of foreign aggression. The loss of dependencies was followed by the partition of China into “spheres of influence” wherein the Powers possessing those regions gathered into their hands basic industries, railway concessions, mining concessions and other exclusive rights. When Germany forcibly occupied Kiaochow during 1898, the Powers began to vie with each other for the seizure of Dairen, Kwangchow, Kowloon, Wei-hai-wei and other

strategic points. Dr. Sun was of the opinion that: "China is the colony of every nation that has made treaties with her, and the treaty-making nations are her masters. China is not the colony of one nation, but of all; she is not a semi-colony, but a hypo-colony."

It is imperative that the four hundred million people in China should be awakened and the perilous situation impressed upon them. China formerly declined because she did not know that she was declining, so to revive the lost spirit of nationalism is a matter of life and death to her. The only nation that can save China is China herself, and the first step towards securing real independence is to abolish the unequal treaties which have contributed in no small measure to the economic and political enslavement of China. Nationalist China is now determined to get rid of the unequal treaties in order that she may deal with the Powers on terms of equality and reciprocity.

It is essential, however, that China should endeavour to preserve her ancient morality. The Great Powers have always attempted to destroy other nations, and China should not copy the imperialism of the rapacious Powers and attempt to crush the smaller nations by force, but should follow the ancient morality and teachings of the sages in her international dealings. When China becomes a powerful nation, she should endeavour to lift up the weak and rescue the fallen.



## DEMOCRACY FOR THE PEOPLE.

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Considering the great advance in science and industry, the West has made very slow progress in the field of government and there is not much difference between the democracy of to-day and the democracy of a century ago. Despite all its advantages, Western democracy has not yet reached true democracy because the political machinery of the West (according to Dr. Sun) is just like a single-acting engine, whose piston can move forward but not backward. With the power of election the people may place the officials in power, but without the right of recall the people cannot control the officials after they are elected. An all-powerful government is desirable, but an all-powerful government which the people cannot control is to be feared.

Dr. Sun did not want to copy the West and adopt machinery which will soon be out of date, so he advocated bestowing upon the people the four rights of suffrage, recall, initiative and referendum. The powers of the government and the powers of the people are to be clearly divided. For many years Dr. Sun has proposed the adoption of the Fivefold Constitution, and the National Government is conscientiously carrying out his wishes by establishing the five "yuans" for administering the affairs of the country, the order being as follows: (a) Executive Yuan, (b) Legislative Yuan, (c) Judicial Yuan, (d) Examination Yuan, and (e) Control Yuan.

The late Dr. Sun compared a government to a piece of machinery. When engines were first constructed in the West the piston was single-acting and incapable of reversing, and it was only later on that the piston was made double-acting by means of a reverse gear. Dr. Sun pointed out that when the people have only the right of voting, it may be compared to a single-acting piston; but

when the right of recall is added, it is analogous to a double-acting machine because the officials may be recalled after they are elected if they do not prove worthy of their charge. When the four powers of the people and the five powers of the government are put into operation, there will be no fear of an all-powerful uncontrollable government, for the people will be in the position of an engineer who can control the machinery of the government at will.

The following is a diagram of the system proposed by the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen :—

### **POLITICAL POWER OF THE PEOPLE.**

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Suffrage—Recall—Initiative—Referendum

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### **ADMINISTRATIVE POWER OF THE GOVERNMENT.**

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Legislature—Judiciary—Executive—Civil Service—  
Censorship (Examinations)

When the three Western powers of the executive, legislature and judiciary are combined with the Chinese powers of censorship and examination, and when the four powers of suffrage, recall, initiative and referendum are enjoyed by the people, then the Chinese Republic may really be called a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

## LIVELIHOOD FOR THE PEOPLE.

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The **Min Sheng Chu I** or the Principle of the People's Livelihood as enunciated by the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen is a scientific attempt to enable the people of China to elevate their standards of living so that they may be better fed and better clothed.

The policy of the Kuomintang is to limit the power of capitalism and prevent the monopoly of land and capital, by a few individuals; and Dr. Sun proposed that enterprises which are monopolistic in character, such as banks and railways, should be regulated by the State. Government control is nothing new in the West because Germany, Great Britain, the United States, Canada and other Countries have experienced state control of Communications and other large enterprises. The principle of nationalization was interpreted by the First Kuomintang National Congress as follows: "By equalization of the right to hold land is meant the abolition of monopoly of land by a few, and by regulation of capital is the taking over by the state of such monopolies as the banking and shipping industries."

The greater part of the misfortunes of Europe and America arise from a disproportionate distribution of wealth and products of industry. But the capitalists in China are poor in comparison with the foreign capitalists, so everyone is comparatively poor and extreme poverty exists among the masses. The absence of large capitalists does not mean that a method for equalizing the distribution of wealth should not be found, but in direct contrast to the forcible revolutionary methods of Soviet Russia, Dr. Sun proposes to solve the problem by evolutionary methods. These methods are:—social and economic reform, nationalization of transportation and communications, direct taxation on incomes, and socialized distribution through co-operative societies.



As the greater part of China's population is agricultural, the land question is very important. In England the feudal system of land-holding has survived up till the present day, and in the United States all the land is private property, but in China the distribution of land partially conforms to the principle of proportionalization. Dr. Sun, however, has evolved a plan which will provide against future evils, and he called attention to the fact that: "In China up till this day the so-called three-grade system of collection of land taxes has been preserved, but, owing to the slow development of transport and industry, land values were not so high in the past as they were to-day. Well-developed means of communication and industry have led, owing to the maintenance of the old system, to an extremely unequal rise in the value of the land.....we must..... collect one per cent of the value of the land. For example, if a given piece of land is worth \$2,000, its owner pays \$20." The fear that the landowner will attempt to cheat the government was dispelled by Dr. Sun, who declared that "if the landowner makes a low assessment he will be afraid that the government will buy back his land at that value and make him lose his property; if he makes too high an assessment he will be afraid of losing money through the government taxing him according to this value. Comparing these two serious possibilities, he will not want to report the value of his land too high or too low, and will report the true value to the government."

Another important problem is the question of food supply and distribution, for in China there is not enough food for the masses. This deplorable condition is due to the lack of scientific agricultural methods and to foreign economic imperialism. The seven methods of increasing food production may be summarized as follows: (a) utilization of agricultural machinery, (b) the use of fertilizers, (c) rotation of crops, (d) eradication of pests, (e) manufacture of food products, (f) improvement of transportation facilities, and (g) prevention of natural disasters through river conservancy and reforestation.

## PRINCIPLE OF LIVELIHOOD.

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The people must be well-clothed as well as being well-fed. At a time when the West was still in a primitive stage, China had exported large quantities of silk abroad. But to-day Chinese silk is gradually being driven from the world market and it is imperative that she must improve the silkworm eggs and mulberry leaves and utilize the latest scientific methods of manufacturing. As the majority of the people wear clothing made of cotton it is necessary to make a scientific study of the cultivation of hemp and the production of fine linen thread by machinery.

In order to fully carry out the Principle of Livelihood it is necessary to eliminate foreign economic oppression by abolishing the unequal treaties which have prevented her from making that advancement which is desired by all well-wishers of China. Railways, canals, motor roads and other means of communication must be developed to allow people and merchandise to travel quickly and freely throughout the country. The vast spaces of Mongolia, Tibet and Sinkiang must be irrigated and immigration encouraged into those regions. The tremendous wealth lying underground in the form of minerals should be tapped to supply the needs of the nation. Every encouragement should be given to allow factories and manufacturing plants of all descriptions to spring up so that commercially and industrially China may rank with any other Power. When all the projects as planned by the late Dr. Sun in his "Outline of Reconstruction" and the "Programme of National Reconstruction" are carried out, the people of China will be better fed, better clothed, and will be able to enjoy many of the things which are now regarded as luxuries.

## **“THE FIVEFOLD CONSTITUTION.”**

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**(A Speech by Dr. Sun Yat-sen).**

Comrades,

The subject of this speech will be the “Fivefold Constitution,” which is the fruit exclusively of my own initiative and hitherto has been unknown. You know that the whole world strives for the establishment of a constitutional system. But what is constitution? A constitutional order is a system in which all political authority is divided into several component parts, independent of one another in their work. The constitutions of other countries are divided only into three component parts, but not into five. The constitution of five component parts is the fruit of my labours alone. From the moment of its appearance, very few have understood its purpose. I shall try to explain it.

Ten years ago I spoke on this subject, and apparently my audience was very inattentive. In all other countries there exists the so-called threefold constitution, and therefore it was very strange for them to hear of a new form, and they decided that it was purely the result of my fantasy. But I based the idea of my work on a very solid foundation. I studied the history of revolutions for over thirty years. After an unsuccessful revolt in Kwantung, I went abroad, and seriously began the study of the problem of government with a view to create the foundation for the future system of government of China.

After the successful conclusion of the revolt of the United States of America, the colonists who had secured complete independence of Great Britain laid at the foundation of their system of government a threefold constitution, the clauses and articles of which are distinguished by their exactness and clearness. This



constitution is called in the political world a "written Constitution." Many countries followed the example of the U.S.A., and laid this constitution at the foundation of the law of their country. I studied the American constitution, which from the moment of its appearance was recognised as a model, not only by the American people itself, but also by the British statesmen, who saw in it something superior to all other forms of constitution in other countries. I was very careful and painstaking about the study of this constitution, in order to secure a reply to the question: was it perfect or not? The result of my work was the conviction that it suffers from many defects. Moreover, the opinion of some European and American scholars about the American Constitution coincides with mine in many respects. To-day very many feel the imperfectness of the American Constitution. This is because all that was good and correct a hundred or two hundred years ago is by no means suitable to-day. From this angle, and also thanks to my intensive study of the question, I decided that these imperfections must be eliminated. The American students of political science are of the same opinion. Undoubtedly, the perfection of a constitution is not an easy matter. How is it to be done? We have at our disposal neither materials nor the necessary books.

I remember that a certain American professor wrote a book, entitled, **Liberty**, in which he develops the idea that the threefold constitution does not correspond to the spirit of the times, and therefore he advises the introduction of a fourth component part, the "power of punishment" of members of Parliament, which must be absolutely independent in its actions. He thinks that if Parliament possesses this power, cunning members of Parliament will abuse it and will always place the Government in a very difficult position. But his opinion also is not quite correct. In America there are a fair number of people who feel the imperfection of their Constitution, and seek a method of improving it. But the method indicated is also imperfect. Why? Because in the United States all public servants are

elected by the people, but, in view of the existence of many difficulties in popular elections, and other grave defects, the method of limiting elections of officials is applied: the vote belongs only to people possessing certain privileges. Such a privilege is the possession of a certain amount of property, which gives its owner the right to vote. Undoubtedly such a form of restriction in elections at the present day is in contradiction to the spirit of equality, and gives rise to the vast growth of corruption. Moreover, in such a system we do not know who should be elected. Undoubtedly, those who are elected should possess certain qualities, but the right to vote should be extended to all citizens of the Republic. Such a system is called "Universal Suffrage."

It is not such a simple thing as to say that, once you have property, you can vote and be elected. I think that every worker in the public service, and every worker of the legislative institutions, ought to have certain knowledge and aptness for his work. But if he has neither knowledge nor aptitude, but only property, this is in contradiction to the requirements of the age. We must select those whom we need. Previously, there existed in China the method of examination for the Civil Service. But the old Chinese method was useless during the time of the dynasty, because the Emperor in those days was only concerned with finding the people he required to rule the country. However, this method is extremely useful and necessary for the Republic, as the whole people is unable to assemble to manage the affairs of the country. The examination section, therefore, is the fifth component part of which I have spoken.

The "United League," while it was still in Tokyo accepted the scheme of the "Three Principles" and the "Fivefold Constitution" as its programme. We decided at that time that, after the successful completion of the revolutionary insurrection, the constitution must be applied in practice. We did not imagine that, after the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, anyone would take advantage of the difficult circumstances. Everyone thought that the very

fact of the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty would be a proof that all would be organised as the people desired. The result is the existence of the so-called "Republican system" in China, which has not only not applied the principles for which the best sons of China struggled, but on the whole has even made matters worse. The reason for this must be clear to you, even without my explanations. We must immediately bend all our efforts to applying the "Fivefold Constitution" which will lay the foundation for a strong and healthy form of government. We must have a good Constitution and then we shall be able to build up a real Republic.

We strive to make China a powerful and glorious country, but how can we bring this about? I think that the path must not be very difficult. This path is the application of the "Fivefold Constitution." Let us consider, at any rate, why we require this Constitution. If we desire to understand this, we must first make a review of political history for the space of several thousand years past. In political history there exist two tendencies; one, "Liberty," the other, "Order." In political history, just as in physics, there are two forces, centrifugal and centripetal. The tendency of the centrifugal force is extension without, the tendency of the centripetal is collection around the centre. If the centrifugal force is stronger than any object, the latter will break up into dust; but if the centripetal force is the stronger, the object will only become slightly smaller and more compressed. It is necessary that these two forces should be equal. The same applies to "Liberty" and "Order." If the boundaries of "Liberty" are widely extended, there is a possibility that anarchy will arise; but if "order" takes first place, there will be the sway of absolutism. Political change for the last few thousand years are the result of the conflict of these two forces.

The history of China began with the dynasties of Tan and Yu: this period is called the "Golden Age." The history of China is the history of the movement from liberty to absolutism, while the history of Europe is the history of



the movement from absolutism to liberty. Our people enjoyed liberty too long, and began to grow tired of it, and finally destroyed it. Then selfish emperors and kings took advantage of the opportunity to assume the toga of absolutism: the autocracy of the Tsing and Tang dynasties began. The political history of other countries goes from absolutism to liberty: in earlier times people suffered great misery, and therefore in those countries the saying arose: "Either liberty or death." Thus we can see the terrible meaning of absolutism at that time.

The history of Chinese political life goes from liberty to absolutism, the Chinese people in ancient times independently cultivated their fruit and dug well for their water, and were completely free. This is what the philosopher, Lao-tze said: "A country must be governed without interference." This is the popular conception of liberty, but did not know its value. This tradition has been maintained up to the present day. The apathy of the Chinese to liberty is a source of constant wonder to the Europeans. The character of European history is quite the reverse. From the moment of the fall of the Roman Empire, Europe was divided into a number of countries, the nations of which were in the position of slaves. During the last few centuries wars for liberty have gone on.

Whenever I have spoken above revolution, I have never confused this with the idea of winning liberty: the Chinese people think only of a complete political change, but do not connect this at all with the idea of liberty. The Chinese Emperors only demanded that the people should pay taxes and keep the peace. Hence it is clear why Europe criticises the Chinese people for a complete failure to understand the term "liberty." The Europeans do not enjoy complete liberty, and therefore fight to win it. But the Chinese have enjoyed unlimited liberty, and therefore do not know the meaning of the word.

— These two tendencies of political history, absolutism, and liberty, are the distinguishing features separating China from Europe. But in political history there are also two




classes of people: those who govern and those who are governed. Here is what one philosopher said on this subject: "There are men occupied with gymnastics of the mind, there are men occupied with gymnastics of the body. The first will rule, the second will be ruled." Those who will rule must have knowledge, while those who will be ruled must not have knowledge. In Europe, the monarchical system and its Emperor were overthrown only during recent centuries, and the people enjoy comparative liberty. My "Fivefold Constitution" strives to destroy this distinction, thereby serving as the true and real path to the realisation of the principles of democracy.

Now let us speak of the place of origin of constitutions. A constitution was first created in England. From the time of the Great English Revolution, the power of the monarch gradually declined, and finally became a pure political tradition, like the "division of the three powers." But in reality the English do not know that these "three powers" were divided: they possess a natural feeling of love for liberty, and act as seems best to them.

Three hundred years ago there was a famous French scholar, Montesquieu, who published a book called **The Spirit of Laws**, which set out the theory of the division of the three powers, and pointed out that the legislative, executive and judicial powers should be completely independent of one of the other. But thanks to the great development of her political parties, England changed her forms of government only gradually, and now her government is not one of free, independent and separate powers, but a single authority. The modern political system in England is that of the complete dictatorship of Parliament, the complete authority of a single party which governs the country. The system of government of the United States of America, on the other hand, is based on the theory of the division of three powers formulated by Montesquieu, and is expressed in the exact forms of a written constitution. Yet Montesquieu himself based his theory of the division of three powers on the political traditions of England. Later, the

reforms in Japan and the revolutions in other Countries took as the basis of their constitution the Constitution of the United States. The English Constitution is not formulated in documents, whereas the American constitution is expressed in a formal way in documents. Therefore, the English Constitution is still called "elastic," while the American is "strict" and "exact."

England is governed by individual persons, while the U.S.A. are governed by laws, although England is the country where there first appeared a constitution, though not drawn up in exact words. Our old Chinese system of government is a system of three powers, just like the English.

| The Old Chinese System of Government. |                                                                                   |                       | The Constitutions of other countries. |                                                                                   |                                                                                   |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Power of Punishment.                  | Power of the Emperor.                                                             | Power of Examination. | Judicial Power.                       | Administrative Power.                                                             | Legislative Power.                                                                |
|                                       |  |                       |                                       |  |  |
| Judicial.                             | Administrative.                                                                   | Legislative.          |                                       | Power of Examination.                                                             | Power of Punishment.                                                              |

According to the above diagram, the Chinese system of government includes the power of examination, the power of punishment and the power of the Emperor, which includes legislative, judicial and administrative departments. The system of examinations is very valuable. It used to be distinguished for its accuracy, absence of bribes and freedom from personal influence: but later this strictness gradually began to be relaxed. As for the power of punishment, there were special officials in control of it. In the event of the Emperor's actions being wrong, he too was subjected to punishment by this power, which insisted on punishment, even though this may be death. Thus this system deserves approval.

There is an American professor, Burgess, who has written a book entitled **Liberty and Government**, in which he says that the power of punishment in China is the best



example of a compromise between liberty and government. The Chinese people have spoken little of liberty: the extreme of liberty is anarchism. The reason for the constant discussion of anarchism in Europe is its comparative newness there. The first known anarchist was the French thinker and philosopher, Proudhon, and then the Russian, Bakunin: the representative of anarchism at the present day was the Russian philosopher, Kropotkin, who died recently. Many have engaged in concentrated study of this tendency in political thought, simply because it was still quite new. It is laughable when people speak of Chinese students who study this theory and advocate it, trying not to fall behind the fashion, without speaking of whether they understand it or not. In essence, the theory of anarchism was known in China several thousand years ago, when many were greatly interested in it. Is not the theory of Hung and Lao anarchism? I repeat that people have talked of anarchism in China for several thousands of years: and it is only because the Chinese youth do not understand this that they fail to realise that such propaganda is quite unnecessary at the present time.

I have already said that both political tendencies, liberty and absolutism, must come to a compromise in order that neither should go to an extreme, like the centrifugal and centripetal forces. To speak only of the centrifugal or the centripetal force is undoubtedly wrong. We must speak of both. Any opinion of one side alone will never be successful. The equality of both forces and the combination of both tendencies constitute the promise of a great future for mankind. The work of the Constitution is like the work of a machine. Law is the mechanism of human affairs. The Constitution is a great machine—the machine of compromise between liberty and government.

At the beginning of our Revolution I put forward the idea of the "three principles" i.e. nationalism, democracy and socialism. These are the same words as were uttered by the President of the United States, Lincoln: "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Men must govern themselves, and then they will be completely satisfied. If they cannot govern themselves, they cannot be satisfied. If we desire to overthrow the system of government of those who have developed their minds over those who have been developed only physically, we must bear in mind that the human will can deal even with the heavens.

Let us go on the question of democracy, which for the people is a machine wherewith to fly, run, swim, and do all else that it pleases. But what kind of machine is it? This machine is a constitution.

The Constitution of Five Grades (or Authorities).

| Legislative. | Judicial. | Executive. | Punishment. | Examining. |
|--------------|-----------|------------|-------------|------------|
|--------------|-----------|------------|-------------|------------|

This five-grade or Fivefold Constitution is our automobile, our submarine and our aeroplane. It is divided into the following authorities: legislative, judicial, administrative or executive, punishment and examining for civil servants—all completely independent of one another. It deprives the Emperor of his power and takes legislative, judicial and administrative authority away from him, making them quite independent. At the head of the administration stands the President; at the head of the legislative machine is Parliament; at the head of the judiciary is a judge.

Every worker in State employment must first of all pass certain examinations. I remember that, when I arrived in Canton, many people asked me to give them posts in the Civil Service. The Government needed competent and experienced workers. But I knew none. Perhaps there were experienced old workers amongst these persons, but without a certain test of their knowledge I could do nothing. In such a case this authority is very useful. Many skilled people have been unknown to a large section of society because they were never subjected to examination. And sometimes it happens that ignorant and almost illiterate people

achieve high posts, and thereby only awaken and develop sullen hostility in the hearts of the people. Thus we see that the examining power is a very essential and important link in the State machinery. Without this link it is as though we were without a conductor. Only with this system can we have experienced civil servants.

This system was adopted in practice by England a fairly long time ago, and by America about twenty or thirty years ago. All this was borrowed from China. The Chinese system of examination is the best in the world, and all countries now use it.

Above I mentioned that the legislative authority is headed by Parliament, the executive by the President, the judicial by a judge; the examining and punishing authorities are also controlled by appropriate persons. When I was at Nanking, I requested the Senate to adopt the Fivefold Constitution. But they did not understand it, as it cut completely across their personal points of view. The Fivefold Constitution, the fruit of my own labours, is a vast machine. If you wish to travel hundreds of miles in a day, you take an automobile or an aeroplane; if you wish to manage a country, you must use a machine which you can control.

The State Machine.  
PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE.  
GOVERNMENT.

Every district has one delegate.

| Punishing Authority.               |                  | Judicial Authority.   | Executive Authority.  | Legislative Authority.           | Examinatory Authority.      |
|------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Minister of Justice.               |                  | Minister of Finance.  | Minister of Interior. | Minister of Foreign Affairs.     | Minister of Education.      |
| Minister of Agriculture and Mines. | Minister of War. | PROVINCIAL AUTHORITY. |                       | Minister of Labour and Commerce. | Minister of Communications. |
|                                    |                  | District authority.   |                       | Direct right of citizens.        |                             |
| Initiative.                        | Right of Recall. | Referendum.           |                       | Direct electoral rights.         |                             |

This is the machinery for governing the country. Beside the Fivefold Constitution, a very important part is the direct right of citizens in local government. Direct



right is the true "rights of man." It has four forms: electoral, the right of recall, the initiative and the referendum. If the Fivefold Constitution can be compared to a vast machine, the direct right of citizens is the key to the machine. If citizens have the right of election, they should also have the right of dismissing the officials whom they elect. If citizens know of the existence of useful laws, which for some reason cannot pass the legislature, they should be able as a community to adopt them. Such a right is called the right of referendum.

**PROGRAMME OF NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION.**  
**(AS DRAFTED OUT BY THE LATE DR. SUN).**

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1. The National Government's programme for the reconstruction of China is based on the revolutionary principles known as the "**San Min Chu I**" and the "**Five-power Constitution**."
2. The first and foremost element of reconstruction is **livelihood**. In order to meet the pressing needs of the people for food, clothing, shelter, and roads, the government should co-operate with the people to improve agriculture in order to provide them with sufficient food, to develop the cotton industry in order that they may have abundant material for clothing, to build houses on a large scale in order that they may procure comfortable shelter, and to construct new roads and canals and repair the existing systems so as to facilitate traffic.
3. The next element of reconstruction is **democracy**. To enable the people to be competent in their knowledge of politics, the government should undertake to train and guide them so that they may know how to exercise their rights of election, recall, initiative, and referendum.
4. The third element of reconstruction is **nationalism**. The government should undertake to render assistance and protection to the racial minorities in the country (Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans, etc.) so that they may be able to exercise their right of self-determination and self-government, while resisting oppression and invasion from foreign countries. The government should, at the same time, revise the treaties with foreign countries in order to secure national independence and international equality.

5. The order of reconstruction is divided into three periods, viz :
  - (a) Period of Military Operation ;
  - (b) Period of Political Tutelage ;
  - (c) Period of Constitutional Government
6. During the period of military occupation the entire country should be subject to military rule. To hasten the unification of the country, the Government should employ military force to conquer all opposition in the country and propagate the principles of the Party so that the people may be enlightened.
7. The period of political tutelage in a province should begin and military rule should cease as soon as order within the province is completely restored.
8. During the period of political tutelage the government should despatch trained officers who have passed the examinations to the different districts to assist the people in making preparations for local self-government. The attainment of local self-government depends on the completion of the census, the survey of the district, the organisation of an efficient police force, and the construction of roads throughout the district. Moreover, the people of the district must be able to fulfil their duties as citizens by exercising the four rights mentioned above, and must pledge themselves to carry out the principles of the revolution, before they are entitled to elect the officer of a "hsien" for the administration of its affairs and representatives of the "hsien" for the formulation of its laws. By that time, the "hsien" will then be considered as fully self-governing.
9. The citizens of a fully self-governing "hsien" have the right of direct voting for the election of officers, the right of direct recall, the right of direct initiative, and the right of direct referendum.
10. At the beginning of self-government it is imperative that a declaration be made of the value of private-owned land of the district, the procedure being to require the owners to make their own declaration at



the local administration so that the tax will be imposed according to the declared value, but the local government is entitled at any time to purchase the property at the declared value. Any increase in value as a result of improvement in the administration and progress of the community shall be set aside for the benefit of the whole community, and the original owners are not allowed to reserve it for themselves.

11. The annual revenue from land, the increase in land value, the production from public land, the income from forestry, rivers, mines, and waterfalls shall be reserved for the local government and shall be devoted to the development of industries, the taking care of the young, aged and poor, the relief of public calamities, the care of the sick, and other public needs.
12. If a district does not possess sufficient capital to develop its natural resources or industries and commerce on a large scale and must seek the aid of outside capital, the Central Government should give the necessary financial assistance and the profits accruing therefrom shall be equally divided between the Central and the Local governments.
13. The contribution of the districts toward the expenditure of the Central Government shall be a certain percentage on their revenue. The percentage shall be fixed annually by the People's Representatives, and shall not exceed 50 per cent., nor be less than 10 per cent. of the total receipts.
14. After self government has been established, the people in each district shall be entitled to elect a representative for the formation of an assembly to participate in the political affairs of the nation.
15. All officials, to be elected or appointed locally or by the Central Government shall be required to pass an examination to be held by the Central Government before they are qualified for their positions.
16. As soon as all the districts within a province are fully self-governing, constitutional government in that pro-

- vince shall begin and the assembly of the People's Representatives may elect a provincial chief officer to supervise the administration of the self-government of the province. As regards the national affairs of the province, the provincial chief officer shall be subject to the guidance of the Central Government.
17. During the period of constitutional government, the powers of the Central Government and those of the provinces shall be evenly distributed. Affairs of a national character shall be reserved for the Central Government and those of a local character shall be reserved for the districts. The system is neither a centralization nor a decentralization.
  18. The "hsien" is the unit of self-government. The province links up and provides means of co-operation between the Central Government and the Local Governments of the districts.
  19. At the beginning of constitutional government, the Central Government should complete the establishment of five "yuans" for the exercise of the five-powers, the order being as follows: (1) Executive Yuan, (2) Legislative Yuan, (3) Judicial Yuan, (4) Examination Yuan and (5) Control Yuan.
  20. The Executive Yuan shall at the outset consist of the following ministries: (1) Ministry of the Interior, (2) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, (3) Ministry of Military Affairs, (4) Ministry of Finance, (5) Ministry of Agriculture and Mines, (6) Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labour, (7) Ministry of Education, and (8) Ministry of Communications.
  21. Before the promulgation of the constitution, the presidents of all the "yuans" shall be appointed or dismissed by the President, who shall supervise them.
  22. The draft constitution shall be based on the Programme of National Reconstruction as well as the experiences gained during the periods of Political Tutelage and Constitutional Government, and shall be drawn up by the Legislative Yuan through which it shall be made

known to the people in order that when the time arrives it will be deliberated and adopted.

23. When more than half of the provinces in the country have reached the Constitutional Government stage, i.e. more than half of the provinces have local self governments fully established in all the districts there shall be a National Congress to decide on the adoption and promulgation of the Constitution.
24. As soon as the constitution is promulgated, the administration of the Central Government shall be vested in the National Congress. In other words, the National Congress has the power to elect and recall officials of the Central Government and to initiate laws and veto laws promulgated by the Central Government.
25. On the day of the promulgation of the Constitution, constitutional government shall be considered as having been fully established and the people throughout the country shall hold a national election according to the constitution. Three months after the election, the National Government shall resign and hand over its functions to a government elected by the people, and the programme of national reconstruction will thus be accomplished.

(Signed) SUN WEN.

12th day of 4th month of 13th year of the Republic.



## MANIFESTO OF THE FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE KUOMINTANG (PASSED DURING 1924).

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### **The Present Condition of China.**

The Chinese Revolution had its inception after the Sino-Japanese War was brought to a head in 1900, and achieved its success in 1911, by which the Monarchical Government was eventually over-thrown. But a revolution cannot arise all of a sudden. Since the occupation of China by the Manchus there reigned in the hearts of the Chinese race the feeling of injustice for a long time. After the country was thrown open to international commerce, foreign imperialism came like an angry tide. Armed plundering and economic pressure reduced the country to a semi-colonial status, and caused her to lose her independence. The Manchu Government not only possessed no ability to repulse foreign invasion, but also persisted in an increasing degree in the policy of subjugating the "slaves" at home, thereby courting favour with the foreign Powers. Under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Kuomintang, the comrades of our party have realized that unless the Manchu Government was overthrown there would be no hope for the reconstruction of China. Therefore they rose valiantly to be the vanguard of the people and proceeded with great rapidity until 1911, when the task of overthrowing the Manchu Government was at last achieved. But it is clear that the aim of the Revolution was not confined to the overthrow of the Manchus, but that with their overthrow we shall be able to undertake the work of reconstruction. According to the circumstances then obtaining we ought to be able:—in the racial aspect to proceed from the dictatorship to the system of popular sovereignty; and in the economic aspect, to proceed from handicraft production

to capitalistic production. Proceeding in this way it cannot fail to change the semi-colonial China into an independent China, standing proudly in the world.

But the realities of that time were indeed contrary to our expectations. Although it was said that the Revolution had succeeded, what the revolutionary Government was able to effectively express was only the principle of racial emancipation. And in what a short time it was compelled by circumstances to compromise with the reactionary class of absolutism! Such compromise is indirectly a concession to imperialism, and was the basic reason for the first defeat of the Revolution. The representative of the reactionary class of absolutism at that time was Yuan Shih-kai. The Power that he possessed was not strong. But the fact that the revolutionary comrades were not able to crush him was due to their earnest desire to avoid a prolongation of the civil war in the country as well as to the lack of a party that possessed organization and discipline and understood its own mission and aims. Were such a party in existence, it would be able to defeat the plot of Yuan Shih-kai and achieve success. The leaders of the northern militarists were always conspiring with the imperialists, and all the reactionary classes of absolutism, such as the militarists and the politicians, depended upon them for their livelihood. Since the revolutionary comrades had consigned the political power to them, it was small wonder that defeat was the outcome.

The death of Yuan Shih-kai did not change the fortune of the Revolution—in fact, it went from one defeat to another. The result was that the militarists of the country were able to play the part of executioners and the people the victims. Any political reconstruction based on the principle of popular sovereignty was out of the question. Furthermore, the fact that the militarists were not able to live independently drove them to establish connections with the imperialists, one and all. Even the so-called Government of the Republic was under the thumb of the militarists, and they utilized it to court favour with the imperialists so as to strengthen their own positions. The imperialists in

their turn utilized them, furnishing them with loans to fill their war chests so that the civil war is prolonged, and the imperialists were able to fish in the troubled waters and carve out the country's vital interests into spheres of influence. From this point of view, it is clear that the internal warfare of China is conferring advantages on the imperialists. The imperialists in their conflicts of interests again sought the support of the militarists, to kill the people for their own interests. In addition, the chaotic condition of the country acted as a check on the development of the internal industries of the country, giving the foreign goods added opportunities to reign supreme in the market. So the Chinese industries cannot even compete with foreign capitalists on the home market. The cruelty of such a catastrophe is that not only our political life but also our economic life will be exterminated. Glancing around the country, it will be seen that the middle class, after the repeated reverses of the Revolution, is suffering increasing hardships. The small merchants are becoming bankrupt; the small handicraft workers are losing their work, degenerating into vagrants and bandits; and then farmers, unable to till their own land, are selling out at cheap prices, as the cost of living is becoming dearer and the taxes are becoming heavier. Such conditions of desolation are found on every hand. What can be said of these conditions except that they are signs of desperation?

From this point of view, the condition of the country since the Revolution of 1911 had not only not progressed, but, on the contrary, it has retrogressed. The reign of arbitrary power of the militarists and the invasions of the imperialists are getting worse every day, causing her to sink deeper into the hell of a semi-colonial status. This condition is what makes the people of the whole country indignant and the thinking men of the country restless until a way out is found.

What is, then, the way out? Regarding this, every party in the country and every man, and even foreign residents, entertained different opinions. They may be



grouped in the following categories, with our criticism attached.

First, there is the constitutional school of opinion. According to this group of men, China's trouble lies in the lack of law. If the country can be united under a constitution, then the chaotic condition will be remedied. The trouble with this school is that they forget that the effectiveness of a constitution is conditioned on the support of the people. Without such support, a constitution alone in black and white will not be able to guarantee the sovereignty of the people against the attacks of the militarists. We had indeed the Provisional Constitution since the first year of the Republic, but even then the militarists and the politicians representing the remnants of absolutism usurped power and were able to institute a reign of crime. So long as these people are in existence, there will be no use for the constitution. In that case the constitution is but waste paper, and what good will it do to the sovereignty of the people? One has not forgotten that Tsao Kuan was able to bribe himself into power only under the shadow of a constitution; but what he did was entirely contrary to the constitution. Therefore the pre-requisite question of the establishment of a constitution was whether the people were able to guard it. There is no use putting the cart before the horse. What is more, if the people are not organized, the presence of a constitution will not mean that they will be able to use it; and in such a case, even if there is no militarist to attack it, it will remain a dead letter only. So the fault with this school is that they only know that a constitution is what is wanted without thinking what is the means of supporting and putting it into practice. This school is therefore without the organization, the means, and the courage to fight for a constitution. In conclusion, it is certain that the establishment of a constitution will not come until the power of the militarists and imperialists is overthrown.

Secondly, there is the federal school of opinion. According to this school, the chaotic phenomenon of the

country is due to the over-centralization of power in the hands of the central government, and therefore, it must divide the power among the provincial governments. When local self-government is established, the central government will be powerless to do wrong. This school forgets that the power of Peking to-day is not conferred by the people under any law, but is snatched by the big militarists. The big militarists used their armed power to capture the central government, and in turn utilized it to expand their armed power. The suggestion of this school amounts to this much, that the power of the small militarists of the provinces shall be utilized to curtail the power of the central government, leaving the big militarists in control of it to perpetrate crimes. Where is the logic in this reasoning? The inevitable result will be that the small militarists will be enabled to establish their governments in the provinces side by side with the big militarists, each for his own benefit, and the country will thus be in a partitioned state. This state of affairs is not characterized by any order or government. It is true that real self-government is the highest good and answers the demands and the spirit of our people. But such real self-government cannot be achieved until the country as a whole has achieved its independence. Now, China as a whole has not secured its independence, and it would be impossible to secure first the independence of any of its parts. Therefore, struggle for self-government cannot proceed independently from the struggle of the movement for national independence. Only within a free China can there be free provinces. The political, economic, and social problems within a province are only soluble within the scope of the whole country. Therefore, the realization of real self-government of the provinces will only be possible after the success of the interests of the revolution of the whole country. We recommend this analysis to the consideration of the whole country.

Thirdly, there is the school of opinion favouring peace conferences. The country has suffered long from

the civil war, and suggestions of holding peace conferences came as a natural result. These suggestions are not confined to the Chinese, but there are foreigners also. If we can achieve peace in this way, nothing can be better. But the trouble is that these suggestions defeat their own purposes. Let us see why. The civil war is created directly by the competing militarists. In seeking their own interests these militarists stand in absolute opposition to one another, and there was no ground for any compromise. Even if there were, it would not amount to more than the compromise between the interests of the militarists, and it had nothing to do with the interests of the people. It would be a union of the militarists and not the union of the country, and what will it bring to the people? The result of such peace conferences will in no way be different from the results of the peace conferences of Europe, where the peace of the small nation is sacrificed to the competing interests of the big Powers. The fact that China was not able to get unity was due to the interests of these Powers. If one knows the impossibility of peace, but entertains the illusion that the parties to this struggle will seek a sort of equilibrium and avoid conflict, thereby securing a temporary truce, it would be entirely a dream. The reason is that in fact there is no power to prevent one militarists attacking another; and since all militarists possess mercenary troops, the inevitable result is plundering and war. It is, of course, easier to plunder other provinces than to plunder one's own province.

Fourthly, there is the school of opinion advocating government by the merchant class. The originator of this opinion viewed the trouble as arising from the militarists and politicians, and therefore, the capitalists ought to rise to take their place. But if militarists and politicians incurred the hatred of the people, due do the fact that they do not represent the people, we must ask in the first place, can the merchants represent the interests of the masses of the people? In the second place, we must know that the militarist government incurred the increasing



hatred of the people because it depended on the protection of the foreign Powers. The merchant government will also be under the protection of the foreign Powers, and in that case it is nothing different from the militarist government. Although one cannot be opposed to a merchant government as such, our demand is that the masses of the people will organize the government themselves, to represent the interests of the whole people, and not confine it to those of the merchant class. And that government must be one which is independent and does not seek the help of others. It must depend on the will of the whole of the masses of the people.

A brief survey of the above currents of thought has shown that some of them proceeded from a sincere desire to save the country, but result only in chimeras, while others are the outcome of malicious criticism lacking in all sincerity.

The Kuomintang is always of the opinion that the only way out for China is to realize the Three Principles through the Nationalist Revolution. Reviewing the present situation of China, we are more confirmed in our view that the Nationalist Revolution cannot be delayed. We therefore submit to the people of the whole country a detailed presentation of the principles and the political platform of the Kuomintang.

## A PLAN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE INDUSTRY.

(By Dr. Sun Yat-sen).

It is calculated that in the last year of the world war the daily expenditure of the various warring peoples amounted roughly to 240 millions of dollars (gold). Let us assume that, with the exercise of the greatest care, only half this sum was spent on military fortifications and other military requirements. This will mean an expenditure of about 120 million gold dollars. If we look at these military expenses from the commercial standpoint, we see the following picture. The battlefields were the markets for war industry, and the soldiers were the consumers. The war swallowed up everything. Nearly the whole of world industry was militarised. In order to increase the production of munitions, the people of the warring and even of neutral countries were forced to content themselves with the most limited necessities of life, and to give up, not only articles of luxury, but also their everyday comforts.

Now the war is over, and the market for war industry has closed—let us hope, for ever. To-day the world is faced with the problem of how to organise the post-war economy of Europe. Above we noted that 120 million dollars daily were spent on military supplies. Let us assume that the restoration of European economy will require half this sum, i.e. 60 million dollars: this still leaves us the balance of 60 million dollars daily, which might be utilised for other requirements.

Furthermore, millions of soldiers, who during the war were only consumers, will now once again become a productive force. There has also taken place a concentration and nationalisation of industry which I would call the

**second industrial revolution**, and the magnitude of which is much greater than that of the first industrial revolution, in which handicrafts were replaced by machine production. The **second industrial revolution** will increase the productivity of the worker many times more than the first. Consequently, the concentration and nationalisation of industry on account of the world war will in the future complicate the restoration of post-war industry. Image: a new commerce, created by the war and amounting to 60 million dollars a day or 21 milliard, 900 million dollars a year, must stop as soon as peace is signed. Where in the world can Europe and America find a market to dispose of these enormous supplies remaining after the war? If these milliards of dollars invested in war industries find no outlet in peace conditions, the world will be faced with an economic crisis. This will not only disturb economic conditions in Europe and America, but will inflict grave damage on world economy.

The commercial countries of the whole world look on China as a "dumping ground" for their surplus production. Pre-war trade conditions were unfavourable for China. The excess of imports over exports amounted to about 100 million dollars (gold) yearly. The Chinese market could not extend very much in these conditions, since this would have led to the pumping of gold out of China, and would have been profitable only for the foreign countries trading with China. Fortunately, the natural wealth of China is very great, its opening up would create an unlimited market for the whole world, and it could usefully absorb a great part, if not all, of the milliards of dollars remaining in war-time industry.

China is a country in which hand labour still prevails, and which has not yet entered the first stage of industrial evolution, while Europe and America have already reached the second. Therefore China has to begin both periods of industrial evolution at the same time, applying machinery simultaneously with the principle of the nationalisation of industry. In this event China will require machinery for



her widespread agriculture; technical equipment for her rich mines, machinery for her innumerable undertakings of all kinds, for her extensive transport systems, and for all her social needs. How can this new demand for modern machinery affect the reorganisation of war-time industry in Europe and America? The factories which turned out guns can easily be transformed into factories manufacturing steamrollers for building roads in China. Shops which produced tanks can now make rolling platforms for transporting raw materials from every part of China. All forms of war machinery can be turned into peace-time implements for the general development of the natural wealth of China. The Chinese people will welcome the opening-up of the riches of our country, providing China is protected against the corrupting influence of the mandarins and will have a guarantee of normal intercourse with foreign states.

Some nations of Europe and America may fear that the development of military technique, military organisation, and industrialisation generally will create undesirable competition for foreign industry. I therefore propose a plan for the organisation of a new market in China, sufficiently extensive both to develop China's productive forces and to absorb the industrial capacity of the foreign Powers. The plan I propose is as follows:

1. The development of systems of communication:

- (a) 100,000 miles of railways.
- (b) 1,000,000 miles of roads.
- (c) Improvement of existing canals:
  - (i) Hangchow-Tientsin.
  - (ii) Sinkiang-Yangtse.
- (d) Construction of new canals:
  - (i) Liaoyang-Shanghai-kwan.
  - (ii) Canals to be planned.
- (e) Organisation of China's river system:

- (i) Clearing and deepening the bed of the river Yangtse, from Hankow to the sea, in order to permit of ocean-going vessels reaching Hankow.

- (ii) Clearing and deepening the bed of the river Hwangho, to prevent flooding.
  - (iii) Clearing the Hsikiang.
  - (iv) Clearing the Hwaiho.
  - (v) Clearing other rivers.
  - (f) Construction of long-distance telegraph and telephone lines, and also organisation of wireless telegraph stations.
2. The organisation and development of commercial harbours :
    - (a) The organisation of three large-scale ocean ports, capable of equalling New York in the future, in the north, centre and south of China.
    - (b) Construction of commercial and fishing harbours along the entire coast.
    - (c) Construction of commercial docks along all navigable rivers.
  3. The building of modern cities, with social conveniences of all kinds, near all railway centres, principal stations, and harbours.
  4. Utilisation of China's waterways.
  5. Erection of iron and steel works on the largest scale, and also of cement works to meet building requirements.
  6. Development of China's mineral wealth.
  7. Development of agriculture.
  8. Irrigation work in Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan.
  9. Forestry work in central and northern China.
  10. The colonisation of Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang, Koko-nor and Tibet.

If the above programme is gradually carried out, China will become, not a mere "dumping-ground" for foreign goods, but a real "economic ocean," capable of absorbing all the surplus capital of the world as rapidly as the industrial countries can produce, in the coming era of the second

industrial revolution based on nationalised machine industry. This will eliminate the struggle of commercial competition, not only in China, but throughout the world.

The world war showed mankind that war is destructive both for the victor and for the vanquished, but it is most harmful of all for the attacker. This applies to economic warfare as well as war by force of arms. The American President, Wilson, has proposed the formation of a League of Nations to prevent future wars; I want to propose the cessation of commercial war by co-operation and mutual aid in the development of China. This will eliminate the chief cause of all future wars.

If my proposal is acceptable to the Powers possessing capital, I shall present further details.

The development of America as an industrial and commercial nation has conferred many benefits on the whole world. The development of China with its 400 million people will create another New World in the economic sense. The nations who take part in the development of China will reap vast benefits. Moreover, international economic co-operation can only assist the strengthening of the ties of friendship between the peoples. Finally, I am certain that in the long run, China will be a foundation stone of the League of Nations.

For the successful fulfilment of this plan, I propose the following three essential steps. First, that a Board of the Powers supplying capital be organised by agreement, in order to act together and to create an international organisation with its military organisers, its administrators and its experts in various spheres, to work out plans and standardise materials, thus avoiding trouble and facilitating the works proposed. Secondly, it is essential that the confidence of the Chinese people be secured, in order to serve as a basis for co-operation and for popular support in every way. If these two steps are taken, the third step will be the opening of official negotiations for the conclusion of a final agreement with the Chinese Government relative to the plan put forward.



Finally, the last but most important condition is to prevent the repetition of former mistakes. In 1913 the foreign bankers treated the wishes of the Chinese people with contempt: they thought that they could settle everything with the Chinese Government alone. But it turned out that the treaties which they concluded with the Government, with the help of great bribes, were later refused recognition by the Chinese people. If the foreign banks had chosen a safer road, and had first of all secured the confidence of the Chinese people, and then had begun to negotiate treaties, they would have been more successful.

## CHINA'S INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

(By Dr. Sun Yat-sen).

In my International Development Scheme, I venture to present a practical solution for the three great world questions, which are: the International War, the Commercial War and the Class War. As it has been discovered by post-Darwin philosophers that the primary force of human evolution is co-operation and not struggle as that of the animal world, so the fighting nature, a residue of the animal instinct in man, must be eliminated from man, the sooner the better.

International war is nothing more than pure and simple organized robbery on a grand scale, which all right-minded people deplore. When the United States of America turned the recent European conflict into a world war by taking part in it, the American people to a man determined to make this war end war forever. And the hope of the peace-loving nations in the world was raised so high that we Chinese thought that the "Tatung" or the Great Harmony Age was at hand. But unfortunately, the United States has completely failed in peace, in spite of her great success in war. Thus, the world has been thrown back to the pre-war condition again. The scrambling for territories, the struggle for food, and the fighting for raw materials will begin anew. So instead of disarmament there is going to be a greater increase in the armies and navies of the once allied powers for the next war. China, the most rich and populous country in the world, will be the prize. Some years ago there was great inclination among the Powers to divide China and Imperial Russia actually took steps to colonize Manchuria. But the then chivalrous Japan went to war with Russia and thus

saved China from partition. Now the militaristic policy of Japan is to swallow China alone. So long as China is left to the tender mercy of the militaristic powers she must either succumb to partition by several powers or be swallowed up by one power.

However, the tide of the world seems to be turning. After centuries of sound slumber, the Chinese people at last are waking up and realizing that we must get up and follow in the world's progress. Now we are at the parting of the ways. Shall we organize for war or shall we organize for peace? Our militarists and reactionaries desire the former, and they are going to Japanize China, so that when the time comes they will start another Boxer Movement once more to defy the civilized world. But as the founder of the Chung Hwa Min Kuo—the Chinese Republic—I desire to have China organized for peace. I therefore, begin to utilize my pen, which I hope will prove even mightier than the sword that I used to destroy the Manchu Dynasty, to write out these programs for organizing China for peace.

During the course of my writings these programs have been published in various magazines and newspapers time after time and are being spread all over China. They are welcomed everywhere and by everyone in the country. So far there is not a word expressed in disfavour of my proposition. The only anxiety ever expressed regarding my scheme is where can we obtain such huge sums of money to carry out even a small part of this comprehensive project. Fortunately, however, soon after the preliminary part of my programs has been sent out to the different governments and the Peace Conference, a new Consortium was formed in Paris for the purpose of assisting China in developing her natural resources. This was initiated by the American Government. Thus we need not fear the lack of capital to start work in our industrial development. If the Powers are sincere in their motive to co-operate for mutual benefit, then the military struggle for material



gain in China could eventually be averted. For through co-operation, they can secure more benefits and advantages than through struggle. The Japanese militarists still think that war is the most profitable national pursuit, and their General Staff keeps on planning a war once in a decade. This Japanese illusion was encouraged and strengthened by the campaign of 1894 against China, a cheap and short one but rich in remuneration for Japan; also by the campaign of 1904 against Russia which was a great success to the Japanese, and the fruit of its victory was not less in value; finally by the campaign of 1914 against Germany which formed Japan's part in the world war. Although Japan took the smallest part in the world war and expended the least in men and money, yet the fruit of her victory was Shantung, a territory as large as Roumania before the war, with a population as numerous as that of France. With such crowning results in every war during the last thirty years no wonder the Japanese militarists think that the most profitable business in this world is War.

The effect of the last war in Europe proves, however, just the contrary. An aggressive Germany lost entirely her capital and interests, plus something more, while victorious France gained practically nothing. Since China is awake now, the next aggression from Japan will surely be met by a resolute resistance from the Chinese people. Even granted that Japan could conquer China, it would be an impossibility for Japan to govern China profitably for any period of time. The Japanese financiers possess better foresight than their militarists as was proved during the dispute of the Manchurian and the Mongolian reservations when the former prevailed over the latter thus causing the Japanese Government to give up her monopoly of these territories to the new Consortium, in order to co-operate with the other powers. We, the Chinese people, who desire to organize China for peace will welcome heartily this new Consortium provided it will carry out the principles which are outlined in these programs. Thus.

co-operation of various nations can be secured and the military struggle for individual and national gain will cease forever.

Commercial war, or competition, is a struggle between the capitalists themselves. This war has no national distinction. It is fought just as furiously and mercilessly between countries as well as within the country. The method of fighting is to undersell each other, in order to exhaust the weaker rivals so that the victor may control the market alone and dictate terms to the consuming public as long as possible. The result of the commercial war is no less harmful and cruel to the vanquished foes than an armed conflict. This war has become more and more furious every day since the adoption of machinery for production. It was once thought by the economists of the Adam Smith school that competition was a beneficent factor and a sound economic system, but modern economists discovered that it is a very wasteful and ruinous system. As a matter of fact, modern economic tendencies work in a contrary direction, that is, towards concentration instead of competition. That is the reason why the trusts in America flourish in spite of the anti-trust law and the public opinion which aim at suppressing them. For trusts, by eliminating waste and cutting down expenses can produce much cheaper than individual producers. Whenever a trust enters into a certain field of industry, it always sweeps that field clean of rivals, by supplying cheap articles to the public. This would prove a blessing to the public but for the unfortunate fact that the trust is a private concern, and its object is to make as much profit as possible. As soon as all rivals are swept clean from the field of competition, the trust would raise the price of its articles as high as possible. Thus the public is oppressed by it. The trust is a result of economic evolution, therefore it is out of human power to suppress it. The proper remedy is to have it owned by all the people of the country. In my International Development Scheme, I intend to turn all the national industries of China into a

Great Trust owned by the Chinese people, and financed with international capital for mutual benefit. Thus once for all, commercial war will be done away in the largest market of the world.

Class war is a struggle between labor and capital. The war is at present raging at its full height in all the highly developed industrial countries. Labour feels sure of its final victory while capitalists are determined to resist to the bitter end. When will it end and what will be the decision no one dares to predict. China, however, owing to the backwardness of her industrial development, which is a blessing in disguise, in this respect, has not yet entered into the class war. Our labouring class, commonly known as coolies, are living from hand to mouth and will therefore only be too glad to welcome any capitalist who would even put up a sweat shop to exploit them. The capitalist is a rare specimen in China and is only beginning to make his appearance in the treaty ports.

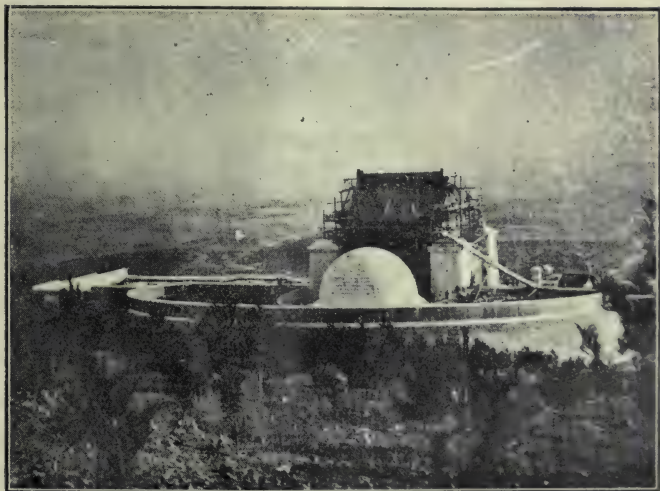
However, China must develop her industries by all means. Shall we follow the old path of western civilization? This old path resembles the sea route of Columbus' first trip to America. He set out from Europe by a southwesterly direction through the Canary Islands to San Salvador, in the Bahama Group. But nowadays navigators take a different direction to America and find that the destination can be reached by a distance many times shorter. The path of western civilization was an unknown one and those who went before groped in the dark as Columbus did on his first voyage to America. As a late comer, China can greatly profit in covering the space by following the direction already charted by western pioneers. Thus we can foresee that the final goal of the westward-ho in the Atlantic is not India but the New World. So is the case in the economic ocean. The goal of material civilization is no private profit but public profit. And the shortest route to it is not competition but co-operation. In my International Development Scheme, I propose that the profits of this industrial development



should go first to pay the interest and principal of foreign capital invested in it; second to give high wages to labour; and third to improve or extend the machinery of production. Besides these provisions the rest of the profit should go to the public in the form of reduced prices in all commodities and public services. Thus, all will enjoy, in the same degree, the fruits of modern civilization. This industrial development scheme is a part of my general plan for constructing a New China. In a nut-shell, it is my idea to make capitalism create socialism in China so that these two economic forces of human evolution will work side by side in civilisation of the future.



The Magnificent Mausoleum where the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen  
will be laid to rest.



Back view of Dr. Sun's Mausoleum.





## LE DR. SUN YAT-SEN.

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Le Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Père de la République chinoise populairement connu sous le nom du Washington de Chine, a mené une vie de labeur pénible, car il a toujours été exposé aux dangers à cause de ses activités révolutionnaires. Le Dr. Sun est reconnu par le monde entier comme le chef de la Révolution le plus effectif et le plus actif que la Chine ait jamais produit. Sa vie a été entièrement consacrée à libérer la Chine des chaînes des superstitions et de la stagnation économique et à hâter son relèvement au niveau d'une puissance moderne.

Le grand chef de la révolution est né dans la province de Kwangtoug le 12 Novembre, 1866. A quatorze ans, il alla à Honolulu, où il étudia à l'école des pasteurs anglais. Diplômé à cette école, il suivit le cours préparatoire de l'Université de St. Louis. Son retour à Hongkong et son entrée au Queen's College marquèrent le commencement de sa carrière révolutionnaire; durant sa jeunesse, il était convaincu que la faiblesse de la Chine était due à l'incapacité et à la corruption des Mandchoux et il croyait que le meilleur moyen d'y remédier était de travailler à leur chute. Après son retour de Honolulu, il évolua beaucoup, aussi prêcha-t-il les principes de la révolution à ses compatriotes, et sa devise en ce temps fut: "La monarchie absolue ne peut pas durer longtemps." Ce principe est une sorte de protestation contre le gouvernement arbitraire du trône. Bien que persuadé que toute sa vie devait être consacrée au salut de la Chine, il pensa qu'il fallait choisir une profession, pour mieux cacher ses activités; il considéra alors la médecine comme un moyen capable de le diriger vers l'arène politique; et cela parce que les Chinois regardent tout médecin comme indifférent à la politique,

il put ainsi faire de la propagande révolutionnaire sans trop éveiller l'attention des autorités.

Au temps qu'il étudiait à l'école de médecine de Po-tsi à Canton, il rencontra Tchen Sze-liang, qui plus tard devait prendre une part prépondérante dans ses activités révolutionnaires; entre eux ils discutaient les principes révolutionnaires avec une passion incroyable. Après une année d'études à l'école de médecine de Canton, il trouva que le collège de médecine de Hongkong avait un plus large programme, et ce fut pendant son séjour à Hongkong qu'il reçut l'aide enthousiaste de Tchen Shoa-bo, Yu Shao-vin et Yang Ho-lin, et d'une autre personnalité de Shanghai, Liou Hoa-toung. Ensemble, ils ne se plaisaient qu'à s'entretenir sur les principes de la révolution. Aussi reçurent-ils le sobriquet de "Les quatre grands et inséparables compagnons d'infortune." Leur ferme conviction que la Chine ne peut être sauvée que par la révolution, leur inspira de former l'Association Shing-Dchoung-Hwei.

### SES ACTIVITÉS RÉVOLUTIONNAIRES

Après la défaite de la Chine par les Japonais en 1894 il était convaincu que la révolution était le seul moyen de sauver sa patrie de la destruction. La-dessus, il organisa une attaque contre le Yamen de Canton au mois d'Octobre de 1895, mais cette attaque demeura sans succès. Plus de six cents pistolets furent saisis à bord d'un vaisseau par les autorités, les camarades Liou Hoa-toung, Tchoeau Sze et Tchu Kwei-chen furent exécutés, et 70 personnes furent emprisonnées.

Les Mandchoux ordonnèrent l'arrestation du Dr. Sun qui s'enfuit à Hawaii puis en Amérique et de là en Angleterre. Durant son séjour à l'étranger, il commença déjà à prêcher à ses compatriotes la nécessité de la révolution. Le nationalisme n'avait pas complètement disparu parmi les Chinois, bien qu'ils aient été gouvernés par les Mandchoux vainqueurs pendant plus de deux siècles. Cependant les lettrés de la Dynastie des Ming propagèrent

les idées nationalistes et formèrent une société secrète appelées le Tong-Men-Hwei. Un grand nombre des émigrants chinois en faisaient partie, c'est ainsi que le chef révolutionnaire put trouver chez eux le soutien moral et financier dont il avait besoin pour réaliser la grande tâche et renverser les Mandchoux.

Le moment le plus dangereux pour lui fut celui où il s'échappa à la légation chinoise à Londres. Il y fut gardé jusqu'à ce que son ancien ami, Sir James Cantlie, le libéra. Sa vie fut constamment exposée au danger. Un détective le suivait partout où il allait et il fut obligé de prendre toutes sortes de déguisements.

Retourné au Japon en 1899, il y loua une maison auprès du consulat chinois à Yamashita Cho. Là il continua ses activités jusqu'à la seconde révolution qu'il organisa aussitôt après la destruction des rebelles "Boxers." Il fit tout son possible pour assurer le succès du général Houang Shing et de son ancien Camarade de classe, Tcheng Sze-liang. Le début du mouvement fut heureux, mais il fut arrêté un peu plus tard par une cause imprévue, et ainsi la seconde entreprise échoua par manque de provisions.

Après cet essai sans succès, il retourna au Japon. En 1903 il alla en Annam. Sous la direction du général Houang Shing, les révolutionnaires commencèrent à diriger leurs effectifs vers Tchao-Tcheou mais ils furent défaits. Une autre entreprise fut dirigée contre l'armée impériale à Hwei-Tcheou, mais elle se termina aussi par une défaite. Nullement découragé par ces revers du sort, le Dr. Sun se rendit en Europe où il continua sa propagande révolutionnaire parmi les étudiants. Revenu en son pays en 1906, il s'efforça de s'assurer la fidélité de Ko Jen-tchang et de Tchao Pai-shen, panégyristes de l'armée impériale. Un Japonais fut envoyé au Japon dans le but d'acheter des munitions et des provisions, mais par suite d'une dispute au Quartier-Général de Tokyo, les armées n'arrivaient pas à temps, et les forces révolutionnaires furent obligées de se retirer.



En 1907, le Dr. Sun dirigea personnellement ses camarades dans une attaque contre Tchen-Nan-Kwan et le captura. Le général Houang Shing reçut alors l'ordre d'aller s'emparer des districts de Lien et de Tchien; mais faute de munitions, les forces du général Houang furent obligées de se retirer. A la requête de Peking, le Dr. Sun fut chassé d'Annam par le gouvernement français et il alla alors à Singapore. Pendant ce temps, Houang Ming-tang dirigea avec succès une campagne à Ho-keou et put saisir plus de 1,000 soldats de l'armée impériale. Comme il fallait un chef capable, le Dr. Sun télégraphia au général Houang Shing de se rendre immédiatement sur les lieux. Malheureusement, le général Houang fut arrêté par les autorités françaises, et les huit entreprises se terminèrent par une défaite.

En 1909, le grand chef révolutionnaire alla en Amérique pour y solliciter le concours de ses compatriotes. Pendant son séjour à l'étranger, ses camarades en Chine tentèrent de prendre d'assaut la ville de Canton, mais ils furent mis en déroute. Le Dr. Sun se trouvait à San Francisco en ce moment là. A cette nouvelle il s'empressa de retourner en Chine où il convoque une assemblée à Penang pour y discuter les futures tactiques révolutionnaires. Il retourna ensuite en Amérique pour se procurer des fonds. Pendant son absence, il y eut une autre tentative en vue de prendre la province de Kwangtoug et cette entreprise échoua aussi. Alors se place l'événement connu sous le nom de "martyrs de Houang-Hoa-Kang."

### LA CHINE PROCLAMEE REPUBLIQUE

La deuxième entreprise fut destinée à changer le cours des événements en Chine, car Wou-Han fut capturé sans aucune difficulté le 10 Octobre, 1911, et toutes les provinces, les unes après les autres se rallièrent à la cause révolutionnaire. Les Mandchoux furent enfin chassés du trône et la Chine fut proclamée République. Aussitôt rentré d'Amérique le Dr. Sun fit élu 1<sup>er</sup> Président de la Chine.

Le Dr. Sun abdiqua en faveur de Yuan Shih-kai, mais ce geste fut une faute de sa part, car Yuan Shih-kai aspirait secrètement au trône. Aussitôt après sa nomination, Yuen employa son influence pour faire assassiner Song Tchao-jen, candidat du Kuomintang au poste de premier ministre. Le second pas fut de détruire le Kuomintang et de dissoudre le Parlement. Quand Yuan Shih-kai se fit proclamer l'empereur, une nouvelle révolution le chassa du trône.

Par suite de la suppression du Kuomintang par Yuan Shih-kai, le Dr. Sun fut obligé de se réfugier au Japon. Avec l'assistance du Dr. Wou Ting-fang, le Dr. Sun recommença son travail en établissant un gouvernement à Canton pour l'opposer au gouvernement de Pékin en 1917. Le Dr. Sun fut nommé Commandant en chef de l'armée et de la marine, puis en 1921 il fut élu président du gouvernement constitutionnel de Canton par une majorité accablante. Après son installation, il organisa une expédition contre les militaristes du nord, mais quand son armée fut entrée au Kwangsi, son homme de confiance Tchen Tchiong-min, se révolta contre lui en 1922. Mais en 1923 le Dr. Sun repoussa les forces ennemies et rétablit le gouvernement de Canton.

Pendant la seconde partie de l'année 1924, les hostilités recommencèrent entre le Fengtien et le Tchili, le Dr. Sun ne perdit pas un instant et se hâta de mobiliser ses forces pour une expédition contre le nord. Après le renversement de Tsao Kun, les chefs du Kuomintang invitèrent le Dr. Sun à se rendre dans le Nord pour y tenir une conférence. Le "Père de la République chinoise" arriva à Tientsin le 4 Décembre, et y tomba malade, mais il s'efforça d'arriver à Peking la veille du nouvel an. Il fut transporté à l'hôpital "Union de Pékin" où il fut opéré, malgré les efforts tentés pour sauver sa vie, mais ce fut malheureusement en vain, il mourut le 12 Mars, 1925. Les dernières paroles prononcées sur son lit de mort furent "Paix-Lutte-Sauver la Chine."

Bien qu'il ne soit pas vivant pour assister au triomphe de son idéal pour lequel il a lutté pendant les derniers quarante ans de sa vie, son esprit et son enthousiasme restent toujours parmi ses partisans, qui ont fait de leur mieux pour atteindre son but et réaliser ses aspirations. Aujourd'hui, la grande majorité de ceux qui furent jadis ses adversaires les plus récalcitrants deviennent les protecteurs de son idéal et s'appliquent ainsi à observer ses trois principes qui sont le Nationalisme, la Démocratie et la Subsistance du peuple. Le Gouvernement National agit consciencieusement suivant les conseils du Dr. Sun pour établir le système des cinq pouvoirs : exécutif, judiciaire, législatif, contrôle et examinateur. Depuis la période de la tutelle politique jusqu'à celle de la Constitution on doit apprendre à la masse les quatre droits essentiels du peuple ; le suffrage, le rappel, l'initiative et la référendum.



## PRÉFACE.

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### AUX PRINCIPES FONDAMENTAUX DE LA RECONSTRUCTION NATIONALE.

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Depuis la Révolution de 1911 jusqu'à présent, la République chinoise n'existe que de nom. Les produits nationaux n'ont pas encore pu mettre la China au rang des Grandes Puissances mondiales. Le peuple n'a réellement avancé ni en politique ni en économique. Le malheur que cause le démembrement devient de jour en jour plus grave. Aussi, chercher la cause de tout cela et en trouver le remède est tâche la plus urgente de l'heure.

Le but de la Révolution est de mettre en pratique les **'Trois Principes du Peuple.'** Mais cette mise en application des **"Trois Principes de Peuple"** doit être exécutée avec méthode et selon programme. Ces principes peuvent influencer le peuple, mais ce dernier en saura-t-il profiter? Tout dépend de la façon dont on applique la méthode et le programme. Je me suis aperçu de cette nécessité d'avoir un programme conforme, aussi déjà avant la Révolution de 1911, d'un côté je mettais en application les principes et de l'autre côté j'étudiais et réglementais le programme ainsi que la méthode d'application. Le programme de reconstruction se divise en trois étapes qui sont: 1<sup>o</sup> LA PÉRIODE DES OPÉRATIONS MILITAIRES; 2<sup>o</sup> LA PÉRIODE DE LA TUTELLE POLITIQUE et 3<sup>o</sup> LA PÉRIODE DE LA CONSTITUTION. Le programme doit être exécuté selon cet ordre afin de bien remplir la tâche révolutionnaire.

Avant 1911, à chaque mouvement révolutionnaire, nous déclarions et expliquions au monde les principes "SAN

MIN'' et le programme de reconstruction nationale et cela dans le but de réaliser une entente entre les partisans de la Révolution et le peuple.

Lorsqu'arriva l'année 1911, la Révolution, après quelques mois de combat, renversa la monarchie absolue établie depuis plus de quatre mille ans ainsi que le Gouvernement arbitraire Mandchoux installé depuis plus de deux cent soixante ans. La force destructive de la Révolution de 1911 n'était donc pas des moins puissantes. Mais comment se fait-il que jusqu'à présent les **“Trois Principes du Peuple”** ne soient pas encore réellement appliqués ? C'est parce que on n'a pas suivi le programme antérieurement dressé pour la reconstruction après la destruction. Car on ne pourrait pas anéantir les forces ennemies de la Révolution, ni propager à la foule les principes révolutionnaires pour obtenir sa sympathie et sa croyance sans passer par la période des opérations militaires. Il en est de même pour la période de la tutelle politique. Car la majorité du peuple, opprimé depuis trop longtemps et subitement arraché à l'oppression, ne sait pas encore comment se mobiliser. S'il gardait son habitude de ne pas remplir son devoir il serait encore exploité et par là se tournerait sans le savoir contre la Révolution. Le premier tort est qu'on n'est pas allé jusqu'au fond de la reconstruction révolutionnaire ; le second est qu'on n'a pas su faire progresser la reconstruction. Au temps de la Révolution de 1911 on se pressait de réglementer la Constitution provisoire, croyant avoir ainsi établi la base de la République ; mais le résultat obtenu était justement le contraire.

Après l'application de la constitution provisoire, on s'apercevait qu'elle fut sans résultat : l'existence d'une constitution n'avait donc plus de raison d'être. On se plaignait que celle-là n'était pas parfaite et on se hâtait de réglementer une nouvelle pour remplacer la provisoire. Le mal consiste en ce que le programme n'a pas été appliqué à la lettre ; au lieu de commencer par la période des opérations militaires puis celle de la tutelle politique

et celle de la constitution, on commençait par la fin, c'est-à-dire, par la période constitutive.

Après la promulgation de la constitution provisoire de 1911, les forces anti-révolutionnaires au lieu d'être anéanties se trouvaient par contre agrandies avec l'appui de la constitution elle-même; et, s'appuyant sur la constitution elles l'anéantissent. S'apercevant de la non importance et de l'inopportunité de la constitution, la majorité du peuple se montrait indifférente à sa destruction et, à plus forte raison, à sa protection. C'était parce qu'on ne suivait pas le programme c'est pourquoi la constitution provisoire ne produisait pas le résultat voulu. Après 1911, il n'y avait que la constitution provisoire qui soutenait la République. Son résultat fut si mauvais, comment voulez-vous que la discipline existe et les désordres ne s'en suivent?

L'opinion de notre Gouvernement actuel est que la Révolution ultérieure a été faite non seulement pour la destruction mais encore pour la reconstruction, par la réglementation d'un programme déterminé. Et c'est cette idée directrice qui dicte les 25 articles concernant les principes fondamentaux de la reconstruction nationale. Ces articles constituent désormais les directives de la Révolution.

Les articles 1 à 4 des principes fondamentaux de la reconstruction nationale proclament les principes et la substance de la Révolution elle-même. Les articles qui suivent l'article 5 servent à montrer la tactique et le programme de la Révolution. Les articles 6 et 7 indiquent que le but de la période des opérations militaires est de supprimer toutes les forces anti-révolutionnaires et de propager les principes de la Révolution. Les articles 8 à 18 indiquent que le but de la période de la tutelle politique est de diriger le peuple en entreprenant la reconstruction révolutionnaire, prenant d'abord, pour cela, la préfecture comme unité administrative autonome. Durant cette période on s'efforcera de supprimer l'ancien régime et d'initier le nouveau, pour établir la base des pouvoirs du peuple. Et, de la préfecture on atteindra la province. Ainsi autonomie administrative deviendra réellement



autonomie populaire, toute différente de celle qui en avait pris le nom et qui n'était qu'une exploitation du peuple. Après la réalisation de l'autonomie locale l'organisation nationale s'en suivra elle-même et sera perfectionnée. Le peuple pourra alors participer à l'administration locale selon la tutelle politique du pays. Les articles venant après le 19<sup>e</sup> indiquent dans quelles conditions et comment on devra passer de la période de la tutelle politique à la période de la constitution.

Pour conclure, disons que les principes fondamentaux de la reconstruction nationale consistent à supprimer les obstacles et à finir la reconstruction selon un programme nettement défini sans aucune modification.

Quand la Révolution est une destruction extraordinaire elle doit être suivie par une reconstruction extraordinaire. Après 12 ans de souffrance et d'expériences, le peuple pourra comprendre ce qu'est son droit et son bonheur. Si l'on pouvait agir selon les principes fondamentaux de la reconstruction nationale, la période des opérations militaires pourrait facilement supprimer toutes les forces opposées et la période de la tutelle politique pourrait réaliser et soutenir le bonheur du peuple, bien qu'il ne soit pas encore en période d'administration constitutive. Mais le droit et le bonheur que le peuple pourrait ainsi obtenir vaudraient beaucoup plus qu'une administration constitutive de nom qui agirait en arbitraire. De la période de la tutelle politique à la période constitutive les chemins à suivre sont tout à fait droits ; il n'y aura aucune crainte d'échec.

Pour la République chinoise et pour le peuple chinois rien n'est plus beau que l'application des principes fondamentaux de la reconstruction nationale. Notre Gouvernement proclame solennellement qu'à partir d'aujourd'hui là où la force révolutionnaire est parvenue et qui obéit à l'ordre gouvernemental doit considérer l'application des principes fondamentaux de la reconstruction nationale comme l'unique devoir.

Les articles ci-dessous constituent le programme de la reconstruction nationale.

## PRINCIPES FONDAMENTAUX POUR LA RECONSTRUCTION NATIONALE.

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1. Le programme du Gouvernement National pour la reconstruction de la Chine est basée sur les "Trois Principes du Peuple" et "La Constitution" des cinq pouvoirs de la révolution.

2. La subsistance du peuple est le problème le plus important de tous ceux qui regardent la reconstruction. En prenant en considération les questions de nourriture, d'habillement, de logement, et les moyens de communications et qui sont les quatre grandes nécessités du peuple, le gouvernement doit donc coopérer avec ce dernier pour développer l'agriculture et l'industrie textile afin que le peuple puisse se nourrir et s'habiller suffisamment, pour bâtir en grande échelle les habitations de toutes sortes afin qu'il ait le plaisir de se loger; et pour construire et réparer les routes et les grands canaux afin qu'il ait la facilité de circuler.

3. Le second problème est le problème de la démocratie. Le gouvernement doit instruire, guider le peuple et lui faire comprendre ce qui c'est que la politique de façon qu'il puisse exercer son droit de vote, son droit de révocation des fonctionnaires, son droit d'initiative et son droit de référendum.

4. Le troisième problème de la reconstruction est le problème du Nationalisme. A l'intérieur, le gouvernement doit donc protéger et aider les petites minorités à prendre conscience d'elles-mêmes et à se gouverner; à l'extérieur, le gouvernement se doit le devoir de se défendre contre les agressions impérialistes. En même temps, il doit reviser tous les traités déjà conclus avec les divers états étrangers dans le but d'arriver à de justes traités et d'obtenir l'indépendance de notre pays selon l'équilibre international.

5. La reconstruction comprend trois étapes :

- (a) La Période des Opérations Militaires ;
- (b) La Période de la Tutelle Politique ;
- (c) La Période Constitutionnelle.

6. Pendant la période des opérations militaires, toutes les organisations sont entre les mains de l'administration militaire. Le gouvernement supprime *manu militaria* d'un côté tous les obstacles à l'intérieur et de l'autre côté le gouvernement énonce les principes pour l'instruction populaire et l'unification du pays.

7. Le jour de la stabilité complète d'une province, c'est aussi le jour de commencement de la période de la tutelle politique et celui de la fin de la période des opérations militaires.

8. Pendant la période de la tutelle politique, le gouvernement doit envoyer des personnes ayant reçu de l'instruction et passé des examens avec succès dans toutes les préfectures pour aider le peuple à préparer son autonomie. Le jour où dans la préfecture l'enquête sur le chiffre de la population terminée, l'arpentage de terrains fini, la police bien organisée, les routes toutes construites, le peuple ayant rempli ses devoirs de citoyen et qui a juré d'appliquer les principes révolutionnaires, peut élire le préfet pour administrer la préfecture et les députés pour légiférer, et cette préfecture deviendra alors complètement autonome.

9. Le citoyen de la préfecture complètement autonome, a droit d'élire et de révoquer directement les fonctionnaires, ainsi que le droit de légiférer et le droit de référendum.

10. Chaque préfecture, au commencement de son ère autonome, doit réglementer au préalable la valeur de la propriété foncière privée de toute la préfecture. Le moyen consiste à ce que le propriétaire fasse lui-même une déclaration aux autorités locales. Le gouvernement local taxe alors la propriété d'après cette déclaration et peut à tout moment faire son acquisition suivant la valeur déclarée. Si après la déclaration, la valeur de la propriété augmente soit à cause de



l'amélioration de la politique, soit à cause de progrès de la société, le surplus reviendra alors à la communauté de la population de toute la préfecture et non au propriétaire.

11. Le revenu annuel des terres, l'augmentation de la valeur des propriétés, la production des terrains publics, les produits des montagnes, des forêts, des lacs, des mines, et des forces hydrauliques appartiennent au gouvernement local qui en profite pour entreprendre des travaux publics locaux ; élever les enfants pauvres, entretenir les vieillards, aider les pauvres, secourir les calamités, guerir les malades et pourvoir à tous les autres besoins publics.

12. Si les budgets locaux ne sont pas suffisants pour développer les richesses naturelles et entreprendre des travaux industriels et commerciaux de grande envergure, le gouvernement central viendra alors en aide. Les revenus seront partagés en parties égales entre le gouvernement central et le gouvernement local.

13. Chaque préfecture doit participer à la charge financière du gouvernement central et lui envoyer la tantième annuel pour ses dépenses. Le montant ne pouvant être inférieur au 10 per cent. et supérieur à la moitié du revenu annuel de la préfecture, sera fixé par les représentants du peuple.

14. Chaque préfecture où le gouvernement local autonome une fois a été établi, a le droit d'élire un représentant du peuple pour organiser l'assemblée des représentants du peuple afin de participer à la politique du gouvernement central.

15. Tous les fonctionnaires et les candidats, soit du gouvernement central, soit du gouvernement local, doivent subir des examens et doivent être contrôlés par le gouvernement central.

16. La période de la constitution commence le jour où toutes les préfectures de la province sont devenues autonomes. L'assemblée des représentants du peuple peut alors élire un gouverneur civil pour diriger l'autonomie de la province. Quant aux affaires dépendant de

l'administration nationale, le gouverneur de la province doit obéir à l'ordre du gouvernement central.

17. Pendant cette période, en ce qui concerne la limite entre le pouvoir central et le pouvoir local, il faut adopter le système de l'équilibre des pouvoirs. Toutes les affaires ayant le caractère national appartiennent au gouvernement central, celles ayant le caractère local appartiennent au gouvernement local. Ainsi, il n'y aura ni excès de centralisation ni excès de décentralisation.

18. L'unité de l'administration autonome est la préfecture. La province se place entre celle-ci et le gouvernement central pour servir de liaison.

19. Au début de la période de la constitution, le gouvernement central doit achever d'établir les cinq Yuans pour tâcher d'exercer les cinq pouvoirs, à savoir : le Yuan législatif, le Yuan administratif, le Yuan d'examen, le Yuan judiciaire et le Yuan de contrôle.

20. Le Yuan administratif établit provisoirement les ministères suivants : 1<sup>o</sup> le ministère de l'intérieur, 2<sup>o</sup> le ministère des affaires militaires, 3<sup>o</sup> le ministère des affaires étrangères, 4<sup>o</sup> le ministère de l'agriculture et des mines. 6<sup>o</sup> le ministère du travail et du commerce, 7<sup>o</sup> le ministère de l'instruction publique, 8<sup>o</sup> le ministère de la communication.

21. Avant la promulgation de la Constitution, les Présidents de Yuans sont nommés et révoqués par le Président de la République sous les ordres duquel ils sont.

22. Le projet de la Constitution doit être basé sur les principes fondamentaux de la reconstruction et les résultats acquis pendant la période de la tutelle politique et celle de la Constitution et rédigé par le Yuan législatif qui à tout moment la porte à la connaissance du peuple de façon qu'on puisse l'adopter et l'appliquer à temps voulu.

23. Le jour où plus de la moitié des provinces du pays commencent la période de la Constitution, ce qui veut dire que chacune des provinces en question, est

devenue autonome, alors on convoquera l'assemblée des représentants du peuple pour décider la promulgation de la Constitution.

24. Après la promulgation de la Constitution, la rène du gouvernement central appartient à l'assemblée des représentants du peuple. Celle-ci a le droit d'élire et de révoquer les fonctionnaires du gouvernement central, de légiférer et de référendum.

25. Le jour de la promulgation de la Constitution est aussi le jour du parachèvement de la période de la Constitution. Selon la Constitution, tous les citoyens du pays participent à la grande élection. Le gouvernement national se demettra de ses fonctions trois mois après l'élection et passera la rène du gouvernement au gouvernement élu par le peuple. L'oeuvre de la Reconstruction doit être ainsi accomplie.

(Signé) SUN WEN.

12-ième jour de 4-ième mois de 13-ième année de  
la République.













